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ABSTRACT

The 3 principal objectives of this study were (1) to determine leader characteristics and attitudes toward resource development programs and development organizations in the Roosevelt County and Fort Peck Reservation area; (2) to measure understanding of concepts and attitudes about area development, Federal programs, and other factors associated with development activities; and (3) to derive therefrom basic principles and approaches for more effective implementation of development programs. A list of leaders was obtained by (1) telephoning 75 randomly selected persons, (2) securing lists of elected leaders of organizations with 15 members or more, (3) interviewing professional people with extensive contacts in the area, (4) listing significant elective or appointive office holders, (5) listing leaders mentioned by local newspapers, and (6) asking leaders selected in the first 5 steps to suggest other leaders. Individuals from the study area who were selected most consistently formed the final interviewing sample--a total of 84 non-Indians and 31 Indians. Each selected leader was asked to participate in a detailed personal interview wherein an attempt was made to identify and probe a number of factors relevant to area development, such as knowledge of ongoing development efforts, knowledge of basic development principles, and awareness of existing alternative programs of area development. This report describes the major findings of the study and discusses some of the implications and potential recommendations that might be derived. (LS)

Leadership and Development in a Bi-Cultural Setting

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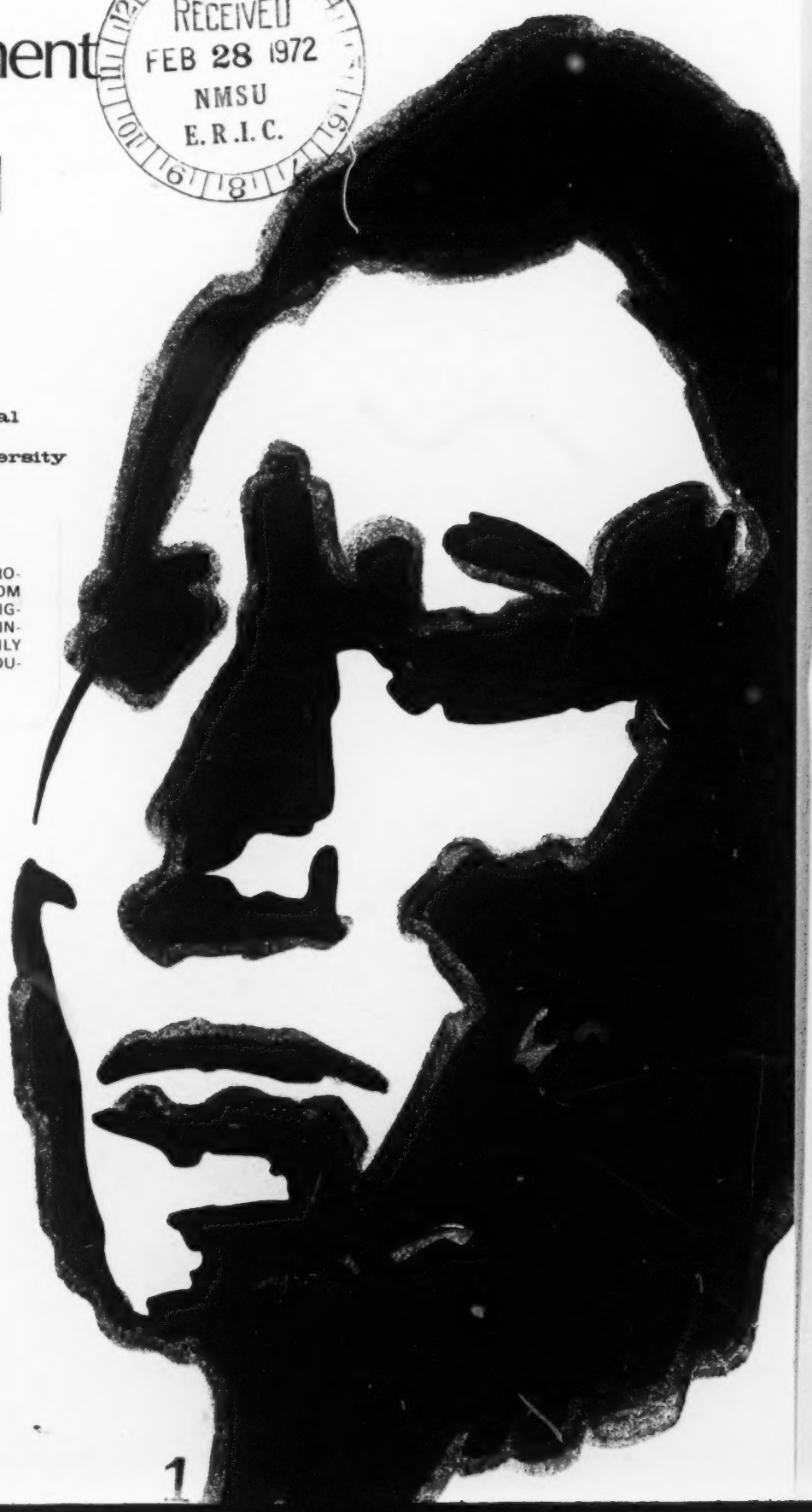

Acknowledgments

A great variety of people have made significant contributions to this study since it was first initiated in 1965. The late Don Hunter, County Extension Agent in Roosevelt County for fifteen years and later area community development specialist located in Billings, wrote the original proposal suggesting such a study. Ernest Ahrendes, community development specialist in Roosevelt County and the Fort Peck Reservation area from 1959 to 1961, and presently Coordinator of Extension and Community Services at Montana State University, was responsible for initiating the development program which is the major focus of this report; he has also prepared several reports on the early efforts in Roosevelt County and on principles learned about community development procedures.

Joan Broomfield, program officer for the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the Fort Peck Reservation, was extremely helpful in providing background information on Roosevelt County, the Fort Peck Reservation and the Planning and Improvement Council; she made specific suggestions about research questions and general design of the project, and reviewed some sections of this report. Jack Wicks, Dorothy Hoffman, and Garth Tooke, extension agents in Roosevelt County at the time of data collection, were immensely helpful in solving logistical problems and providing a headquarters for the field work. Each of them contributed to our understanding of events in the area.

This study is a part of the research program on community and rural development supported by the Agricultural Experiment Station, the Department of Sociology and the Center for Planning and Development at Montana State University. Several other reports on this and related studies are available from the Center for Planning and Development.

Mary Lou Graham, Shirley Wyckman and Kathy Thomas deserve considerable credit for their assistance in typing the earlier research instruments, processing data, and preparing the final reports.

William R. Lassey had over-all responsibility for the project, did many of the interviews, and organized analytical procedures. Anne S. Williams drafted the report and did much of the manuscript preparation.

Foreword

Experimental efforts at comprehensive resource development in the Roosevelt County and Fort Peck Reservation area began in 1957. The uniqueness of this development effort in Montana suggested the need for documentation in greater detail than had heretofore been possible. The Department of Sociology and the Agricultural Experiment Station agreed to do an interview study of leaders in the area to secure reactions to and evaluations of the experimental program. Preparatory work was completed by the autumn of 1967 when field interviews were initiated.

Relatively little research has been reported which examines the leadership role in development programs, particularly in areas where Indian reservations are located. No prior studies of this kind have been undertaken in Montana. Better understanding of leadership should enable local, state and federal officials to implement the kind of training and support programs that will enable local leaders to provide more effective direction to development programs.

Objectives

This study had three principal objectives: (1) to determine leader characteristics and attitudes toward development programs and development organizations in the area; (2) to measure understanding of concepts and attitudes about area development, federal programs, and various other factors associated with development activities; and (3) to derive therefrom basic principles and approaches for more effective implementation of development programs.

Procedures

A list of leaders was obtained by: (1) telephoning seventy-five randomly selected persons, (2) securing lists of elected leaders of organizations with fifteen members or more, (3) interviewing professional people with extensive contacts in the area, (4) listing significant elective or appointive office holders, (5) listing leaders mentioned by local newspaper, and (6) asking leaders selected in the first five steps to suggest other leaders. Individuals selected most consistently formed the final interviewing sample—a total of eighty-four non-Indians and thirty-one Indians.

Each selected leader was asked to participate in a detailed personal interview, usually at his home or place of employment. Within the interview, we attempted to identify and probe a number of factors relevant to area development: (1) knowledge of on-going development efforts; (2) knowledge of basic development principles; (3 attitudes toward recent efforts in community development; (4) degree of leadership participation in development efforts; (5) awareness of existing alternative programs of area development; (6) awareness of available resources for fulfilling the objectives of community development; (7) opinions about existing problems in the area, and (8) definitions of desired development goals for the area.

The structured interview data were entered on IBM punched cards, and analyzed by computer. Questions not amenable to punched cards were summarized and tabulated manually.

This report describes the major findings of the study and discusses some of the implications and potential recommendations that might be derived. More detailed results are available upon request from the authors.

Leadership and Development In a Bi-Cultural Setting

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Introduction

Local leaders in Roosevelt County requested assistance from the County Extension Service to organize an area development Advisory Council in 1957. The Extension Service agreed to cooperate. Many special interest groups were brought together under Council auspices to pinpoint area problems and potential solutions. Early projects were partially successful in developing workable solutions to problems but participation was limited to a relatively small number of individuals.

A grant to the Montana Cooperative Extension Service from the Fund for Adult Education (in 1959) provided an additional Extension staff member to work specifically on area development. The Area Development Agent worked with the Advisory Council in formulating more intense public education programs, helped to define area problems and assisted in setting development goals. Although the Council was supported by growing citizen interest in area development, it became obvious to local leaders that many problems were too large and complex to be solved by the limited number of Council members.

In 1960, Council membership was expanded to include representatives of local businesses, farm organizations, civic groups, churches, schools, local, state and federal government, Indian Tribal groups, and many other groups. A small Executive Action Committee was appointed to handle organizational details and to act on recommendations of the larger Advisory Council. The Council was re-organized and called the "Roosevelt County and Fort Peck Reservation Planning and improvement Council.[1]

Footnote references appear on page 22.

Planning and Improvement Council activities placed heavy emphasis on **total** resource development, but industrial and agricultural development were of particular concern. The Extension Service helped the Council to develop an effective organization, delineate areas of work and establish county-wide sub-committees on agricultural and industrial development, farm policy, marketing, education, youth, and other areas of local interest. They also provided assistance in gathering background information and in exploring further avenues of educational and technical help. The ultimate purpose of the Planning and Improvement Council, as described in their development goals, was "to plan for education and action on problems of concern to the Roosevelt County people with the assistance of organized groups and agencies." In 1960, the Planning and Improvement Council, together with the Tribal Council, published an *Overall Economic Development Plan* for the area.[1]

Greater communication was clearly noticeable between farm and non-farm groups, Indians and non-Indians, county officials, and between other mapor segments of the population. During 1964 however, public support and interest began to deteriorate. The Executive Action Committee of the Council had difficulty getting sufficient meeting attendance to conduct business. Many members seemed to feel the Council was losing its effectiveness. They had studied and analyzed needs, but local financial and leadership resources were not apparently adequate to support action programs; agencies of the state and federal governments or local credit sources were not willing to provide sufficient assistance to implement many parts of the plan. Council leaders were becoming somewhat discouraged at their inability to rapidly accomplish priority development goals.

A few Council members felt that development projects were not sufficiently specific; they had difficulty gaining citizen interest in projects that would not immediately or directly benefit their community. A few individuals objected to the County Extension Service role in providing assistance and guidance to the Planning and Improvement Council; they felt the Extension Service could best serve the area by limiting its activity to education and action related to agricultural problems, rather than becoming involved in broader community issues.

Council members still active in 1964 were convinced that the organization and direction of the Council would have to change. They felt citizens would be willing to work with and support local community projects with which they could identify; the Council therefore agreed to encourage projects which were primarily on a single-community basis. Recommendations were made to organize community planning councils as sub-committees of the Area Planning and Improvement Council. Leaders of established community groups and organizations (such as Chambers of Commerce, Lions Clubs, Jaycees, etc.) were consulted and invited to join the local planning councils.

Re-organization of the sub-committees, with more emphasis on individual community priorities, did increase incentive for local people to participate more on development activities at least temporarily. However, by 1966, the Executive Action Committee was again having difficulty getting members to attend meetings although they had been successful in securing enough cooperation (particularly from the Bureau of Indian Affairs) to publish a revised *Overall Economic Development Plan* that incorporated suggestions from the individual communities.[3] Committee members were apparently discouraged by lack of follow-through on their suggestions, and little noticeable accomplishment was evident during late winter and spring of 1967.

Some of the more active area leaders began channeling their energies into an emerging organization of the 18 eastern Montana counties, using some of the organizational methods formulated by the Planning and Improvement Council. Early emphasis of the 18-county organization was largely on health and mental health care, but efforts were expanded in 1970 to include broadly based programs of economic and social development.

Meanwhile the Fort Peck Indian Tribal groups have been intensively involved in a variety of development programs, sponsored in part by the Community Action Programs (of the Office of Economic Opportunity) and more recently by the Fort Peck Planning District (with support from the Economic Development Administration). The District planning staff prepared the most recent edition of an *Overall Economic Development Plan* (1969) for the area.[4]

It seems apparent that experience gained through the area development programs initiated in 1957 has led indirectly to the present comprehensive resource development efforts in eastern Montana. Leaders from Roosevelt County and the Fort Peck Reservation have been highly visible and among the most active contributors to three multi-county development organizations and a state-wide Indian Tribal organization.

The Planning and Improvement Council experience in Roosevelt County and on the Fort Peck Reservation has provided an impetus for increasing university commitment and involvement in similar development activities throughout the state. The two principal Extension staff members involved in the Roosevelt County project later moved to positions in which they had major responsibility for innovative efforts in community and area development; current emphasis in Cooperative Extension activities strongly support community developments efforts on Indian reservations and in many counties. In sum, although local activities in the Fort Peck Reservations and Roosevelt County area have seemed to decline, the total spin-off from the project has apparently been substantial.

Contrasts Between Indian and Non-Indian Leaders

Previous studies have demonstrated that values, beliefs, atti-

tudes and self-conceptions are significantly influenced by cultural background; we would expect this to be true among Indian and non-Indian leaders in the study area.[5] These differences should follow a pattern explained in part by social, economic and cultural variables which have dramatically affected the life situation of these leaders. Indian or non-Indian leaders will obviously not uniformly exhibit the same leadership characteristics. However, differences between Indian leaders and non-Indian leaders treated as unique groups should assist in more clearly understanding the dynamics of local organizational activity, and the forces which either contribute to, or detract from, cooperative planning for an area.

Leadership Characteristics

Non-Indians had distinct advantages in terms of most of the characteristics typically associated with preparation for leadership. Non-Indians had greater financial power to influence development (more business ownership and greater annual income), and more opportunity to cultivate influential connections outside the area (they traveled more). Because non-Indian area leaders had more formal education and were more exposed to the mass media, opportunities for them to learn new leadership skills were greater. Non-Indian leaders should therefore exhibit a more sophisticated knowledge of community development principles and more awareness of organizational skills.

Traditional and Modern Leaders

Leader behavior can be characterized on a continuum from "traditional" to "modern".[6] The older more "traditional" leader has usually lived longer in the area, visits less frequently outside the area, considers his residence more permanent, has less education, more frequently holds a non-professional occupation, has a lower income, reads fewer newspapers and magazines, and is less change oriented. The younger more "modern" leader has more education, a higher income, is more often professionally employed, considers his residence less permanent, belongs to more organizations, has spent less time in the area and more time away, is more change oriented, attends more community meetings, reads more magazines and newspapers regularly, and visits more frequently outside the area. In other words, he is characterized by geographic mobility, greater exposure to the mass media, predilection for change, and greater organizational activity.

On the basis of study results some Indian leaders could be characterized as "modern leaders", but a much greater proportion of non-Indian leaders could be so categorized. Non-Indian and Indian "modern leaders" seemed to be equally effective and influential in community affairs, but fewer Indians fit this characterization, which may account in part for the traditional predominence of non-Indian leaders in directing area activities.

Organizationally Active Leaders

Organizationally active Indians held generally positive attitudes towards non-Indians; Indian leaders

who participated relatively less in formal organizations tended to believe more strongly that non-Indians discriminated against Indians. The cause-effect relationship here was not clear, but probably Indian leaders who had positive attitudes towards non-Indians tended to be more active in formal organizations in which non-Indians participated. On the other hand, formal contact between Indian and non-Indian leaders may have created a more positive relationship between the two.

Income level is an obviously critical factor in "ability" to participate in a variety of organizations. Indian leaders who were more active in formal organizations also had higher average yearly incomes. These Indians generally had the financial ability to live on a scale equal to non-Indian leaders, and because they shared the same level of living, they tended to be less critical of local non-Indians. In the pages that follow, it becomes increasingly clear that the typically lower income of Indian leaders may have a primary relationship to the obvious differences in attitude about development issues between Indians and non-Indians.

Attitudinal differences between the leadership groups (particularly young leaders) may be a product, not only of cultural and income differences, but also of rural as opposed to urban orientation. Younger Indian leaders appeared to maintain a traditional tie to the land, while young non-Indian leaders maintained an urban residence and invested less money in agricultural enterprises. These differences in geographic and occupational orientation provided a basis for diverging attitudes between Indian and non-Indian leaders about community development priorities.

Requirements For Community Development

The difficulties experienced by the Planning and Improvement Council, and other local organizations dedicated to long range improvement efforts, can be partially explained by these findings. A substantial number of both leadership samples thought of "community development" as **either** long range planning **or** accomplishing specific projects. The Planning and Improvement Council attempted to accomplish both objectives and lost support of leaders who viewed "community development" as a process which included only one approach.

Leadership commitment to centrally organized community development efforts was very limited; approximately one-half of all leaders did not think a specific community development organization was necessary. The Indian leaders seemed particularly interested in action programs rather than the formal structure and organization necessary to implement development goals. Most Indian leaders were inclined to want professional assistance with the complex aspects of community development. They seemed to want professional expertise to assist them in "getting things done," and were less inclined to spend time in the planning and organizing processes.

In contrast, the non-Indian leaders were more willing to work on specific details of planning for long range goals, and they had more confidence in their **own** ability to implement plans. This tendency could be a function of Indian cultural values, a result of long years of experience with government planning from which Indians have perceived few positive results, or it could be related to the higher education and income levels of the non-Indian leaders.

The Roosevelt County and Fort Peck Planning and Improvement Council had been in existence for approximately seven years at the time this survey was conducted, but 23 percent of the Indian leaders and 12 percent of the non-Indians were not aware of the Council and only two leaders (both non-Indians) knew the Council had worked on development of a long range plan for the area. Most leaders did not know about most other Council activities.

Cooperative Planning

Approximately one-half of the leadership group did not consider deliberate efforts to work with neighboring communities important, at least on a wide range of improvement projects; they would cooperate on some efforts which clearly were of area-wide importance, but preferred to work independently on most projects. Originally the Planning and Improvement Council had encouraged cooperative planning on many activities. They subsequently reorganized, encouraging citizens to work on individual community improvement projects; apparently leader attitudes toward cooperative planning encouraged the Council to alter its philosophy.

The majority of leaders generally had favorable attitudes toward accepting assistance in community planning efforts from outside professionals. They seemed particularly receptive to assistance from the Cooperative Extension Service, both at the local level and from specialists at the State Extension Office. Leaders generally seemed receptive to help from the universities, but felt the universities could best contribute through the conduct of feasibility studies or in providing technical help at the request of local organizations. It seemed perfectly clear however, that local leadership would accept outside help only if outsiders had a clear understanding of local problems and a philosophy of development congruent with local feelings. Area leaders wanted to make community decisions and did not want outsiders telling them what should be done.

Leaders in the Planning and Improvement Council were quite discouraged over their inability to secure adequate financial or other support for priority development projects, although they were partially successful in securing federal financing for some improvement projects. Other than support provided by Montana State University, assistance from the state government was generally minimal. Relatively few Indian or non-Indian leaders had much confidence in local ability to influence state government activities or national government policies with respect to local needs.

There appears to have been an obvious need for educational programs to acquaint leaders and the public with planning and community development concepts and principles. The majority of leaders recognized and expressed this need; over 70 percent of both groups said that educating and informing local people about requirements for development was a necessary ingredient if effective community development was to take place. The Planning and Improvement Council, with guidance from the Extension Service, was not altogether successful in this education process.

Personal income of area leaders was significantly related to attitudes regarding local development potential. Lower income leaders (Indian and non-Indian) generally had pessimistic attitudes toward area development; this may have been an indication that area polarization was based not only on cultural orientation, but also on financial inequalities.

Attitudes Toward Recent Development Efforts And Community Resources

Leader ratings of the Planning and Improvement Council were generally positive, although almost none felt that Council priorities for community improvement were always appropriate. Non-Indian leaders were slightly more positive toward the Council, and a larger percentage felt they had personally benefited from Council activities. Longer term formal participation on the Council was associated with high commitment to Council activities and a more positive attitude toward Council accomplishments. All leaders active on the Council had a greater knowledge of its activities, felt they could rely on priorities established by the Council, and felt they benefited directly from Council programs.

Among Indian leaders, long term participation on the Council was apparently antagonistic to positive attitudes about systematic community development; this was not true of the non-Indian leadership. There seemed to be considerable frustration among Indian leaders, particularly with trying to work on a comprehensive development approach. Apparently few of the development priorities held by Indians were accomplished under the Planning and Improvement Council plan, while a number of things were accomplished that primarily benefited non-Indians. Educational programs in community development principles might have been beneficial to all Council members, and particularly to the Indian members. This is not to say that the Council had been **responsible** for this attitude among Indian members; rather, the Council had apparently failed to create a positive Indian commitment to systematic community development efforts.

The fact that almost half of all leaders interviewed knew of specific community improvement projects that had failed in recent years could be symptomatic of inadequate understanding of development principles. Community leaders often felt too much time was spent

in the planning process and that efforts to implement plans bogged down long before sufficient data for choosing priority planning programs had been gathered. Many local leaders wanted to immediately "get on with the job," rather than "talking and planning." The predilection of area leaders to move immediately into the action phase of improvement programs, without first systematically gathering and analyzing information and data, suggested a probable basis for failure of many projects. Inadequate understanding among local leadership of the **need for** systematic data and feasibility studies prior to program implementation may also have been a partial basis for project failures.

Attitudes Toward the Local Community

Non-Indian leaders had certain clear advantages in education and income, which suggested they had experienced more personal success and should therefore have been more optimistic about their communities. However, many non-Indian leaders felt area problems would get worse. Given the changes currently underway in rural areas, these reactions could indicate realism about area development potential. Most of the non-Indian leaders lived in the small towns which were then declining (and which continue to decline) as a consequence of technological changes in agriculture and accompanying outmigration.

On the other hand, Indian leaders were very optimistic about the future. Although Indian leader's ratings of their communities as they **presently** existed were generally lower than their non-Indian counterparts, predictions for community change during the **next** five years were very positive. Indians seemed to be saying that, although things had not been so good in the past, the future held considerable promise. Indian leader optimism may have been a result of recent success in securing federally funded projects for the Reservation. The number and variety of programs specifically for minority people certainly could have encouraged greater optimism than in years past.

Attitudes Toward Community Organizations

The majority of all respondents felt the community should work through one central organization (rather than through many different organizations) to accomplish community improvement. However, apparently no uniformly recognized central organization had been created to initiate, follow-through and coordinate community development efforts. Indian leaders continued to rely primarily on the Tribal Executive Board, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Office of Economic Opportunity, while non-Indians relied largely on the Chamber of Commerce.

Organizational polarization between Indian and non-Indian leaders was obvious; each group more closely identified with those organizations designed to serve their special interests or with which they shared a common cultural orientation. However, both leadership groups generally had positive attitudes toward the Extension Service, and did rely to a great extent on

this agency. The Extension Service was apparently in the best position to assume the coordinating role for area efforts, and might have legitimately assisted the Planning and Improvement Council (or other development oriented groups) to educate area leaders about systematic community planning and development principles.

Indian and non-Indian leaders appeared to have quite divergent attitudes toward community and area affairs. A sizable minority of Indian leaders had little knowledge of organizations traditionally originated and led by non-Indians. Indian attitudes toward the Tribal Executive Board were much more favorable than attitudes held by non-Indians, while non-Indians had more positive attitudes toward the Fort Peck Indian Agency (Bureau of Indian Affairs); Indians identified with the Indian led Tribal Board, and non-Indians were more favorable toward the Indian Agency, which had traditionally been directed largely by non-Indians.

Attitudes Toward Federal Government Programs

Although within each leadership group there were wide variations in attitudes toward Federal Government programs in the area, the Indians had a more positive view than non-Indians. Generally speaking, leaders who felt the government was domineering and squelched local initiative, had negative attitudes toward all government programs; leaders who held favorable attitudes toward the federal government were generally positive toward federal participation in local affairs. The non-Indian leaders tended to be critical of the poverty programs on the Indian reservation, while Indian leaders were very positive toward these programs.

The majority of leaders realized the need for federal assistance with local problems, but they much preferred control of these programs at the local level, in preference to strong influence by the federal government; most leaders (the Indians particularly) wanted federal assistance in solving local problems, but on their own terms.

Leader Participation In Development Efforts

Non-Indian leaders were consistently more active in community affairs than their Indian counterparts. However, Indian leaders were becoming more active organizationally than in past years; this was particularly true of their participation on the Planning and Improvement Council.

Indian leaders were more hesitant in committing themselves to work on community improvement projects; they were less willing to work on projects which they thought might fail, and they were not as willing to work on efforts which they felt might be of marginal benefit to the reservation. However, long-term membership on the Planning and Improvement Council correlated significantly with willingness to work on community projects; this was true for both Indian and non-Indian leaders. Council members were clearly a select group basically more com-

mitted to working on all efforts at community improvement; personal commitment to community improvement seemed to be particularly characteristic of most long-time Council members.

As noted earlier, organizational polarization of Indian and non-Indian leadership groups was apparent. The only obvious exception to this pattern was within the Planning and Improvement Council in which there appeared to be cooperative planning among the two leadership groups, at least for a short period of time. Indian and non-Indian leaders' close identification with those organizational resources with which they had traditionally worked was again evident. This "provincialism" undoubtedly reduced leader knowledge of possible alternative resources available for development of the area. It also demonstrated a significant obstacle to realizing broadly based cooperation between Indians and non-Indians in development efforts.

Leader Knowledge of Available Resources for Development

Indian leaders appeared to have consistently less knowledge about community and area organizations and agencies; they could name fewer area leaders and had difficulty in naming state agencies that had assisted the area; likewise, fewer Indians had heard of the Planning and Improvement Council.

These findings raise an interesting issue: Indian leaders were more optimistic about the future of the area but had considerably less knowledge about local community resources for development. A major factor contributing to Indian optimism could well have been their recent success in attracting federally funded development programs. Until the past few years, the Bureau of Indian Affairs exercised considerable authority over activities on the Reservation; the present trend is to de-emphasize BIA staff decision-making, and to encourage Indian people to plan and make their own decisions concerning the future of the Reservation. This is perceived by Indians as a major change in philosophy and action on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the federal government, and an encouraging sign to Indian leaders who want more local control and decision-making responsibility.

As a general rule Indian leaders felt a greater need for outside professional help in planning and development programs. This may have resulted from Indian distrust of local professionals, or recognition of their **own** need for additional training and advice with respect to development. Until Indian leaders obtain the necessary additional experience, they apparently will continue to feel a strong need for dependable outside professional guidance.

Development Priorities And Problems

Indian and non-Indian leaders had similar conceptions of community problems, obstacles to development, and changes needed to solve current local problems. How-

ever, Indian leaders definitely placed more emphasis on the need to improve housing, provide more jobs, and to improve the availability of low interest loans. In contrast, non-Indian leaders placed more emphasis on the need to develop a concerted effort to keep young people in the area and provide better social and recreational services.

The differences in Indian and non-Indian expressed needs appeared to be closely related to the higher socio-economic position of non-Indians. Indian leaders expressed needs that were very basic, whereas non-Indians thought improvements were needed to more adequately provide the "general amenities" of life.

Indian leaders were generally much more critical of the educational programs of the local schools than were the non-Indian leaders. There was relative consensus however, that formal education is essential for future occupational success. Indian leaders felt that many Indian children dropped out of school because of inadequate financial resources, inadequate communication and lack of understanding between Indian children and school personnel.

The differences in Indian and non-Indian responses with respect to education were particularly revealing; Indian leaders strongly indicated their desire for more local vocational training opportunities, and attributed failure of new businesses to lack of skilled labor and management knowledge. Indian leaders seemed to believe that new business enterprises could be organized if only local people had more training and experience along commercial lines. Non-Indian leaders seemed to be saying that the relative geographic isolation of the area (high transportation costs and lack of markets) was not conducive to business development, even if a skilled labor force were trained and management knowledge available. This difference in attitude once again pointed out the expressed desire of Indian leaders for equal opportunity to compete on an educational and economic level comparable to area non-Indians.

Like their non-Indian counterparts, Indian leaders believed people should have to work to earn a living; they were not in favor of government programs which **gave** money to people. It was clear that area leaders (and Indian leaders particularly) were asking for government assistance to help poor people learn skills that would enable them to become self-supporting.

Non-Indian leaders were somewhat more cognizant of the cultural separation; they thought Indians took advantage of non-Indians, while non-Indians also took advantage of Indians. They seemed to view local cultural conflict as a life situation in which both parties often exploited each other. Most Indian leaders held a slightly different attitude: they felt at a disadvantage educationally, occupationally and economically, and inferred that non-Indians used their superiority in these areas to exploit Indian residents.

These clear differences in priority and understanding of local needs provided a basis for inter-cultural

conflict, and for failures of cooperative attempts to formulate and follow-through on development programs. However, since overall goals for the area were similar for both groups, there seemed to be a basis for future cooperative efforts if each group could understand the development priorities of the other.

Change Expectations and Development Objectives

Non-Indian leaders appeared to have a more realistic picture of changes likely to occur in the area. Most non-Indian respondents anticipated larger farm units, consolidation of schools, and out-migration of local residents — all changes which had been occurring over the past few years. Indian leaders on the other hand, more frequently predicted development of new industry, improved housing, and better education facilities — all changes which they previously expressed as needed improvements; Indian leader aspirations for, and expectations of, area change were similar. Non-Indian leaders however, seemed to be saying that the changes they wanted were **not** likely to occur.

Indian and non-Indian leaders had similar conceptions of local development objectives, although more Indian leaders placed emphasis on Indian arts and crafts as a logical resource for development. At the time of the study, Indian handicraft was being produced in the area on a limited basis. Indian leaders clearly felt this potential could be developed more fully, thereby creating new employment opportunities for area Indians.

There was general consensus among all leaders concerning their expectations of what the universities and the Bureau of Indian Affairs could be doing to improve the area. However, Indian leaders placed more emphasis on university responsibility to help Indian students adjust to college, while most non-Indians wanted the universities to provide more adult education courses. Indian mistrust of the local schools was emphasized by their preference for a special new organization to provide adult education.

Both leader groups recognized the need for cooperative planning between the Indian and non-Indian communities in order to solve area problems, but Indian leaders gave the issue greater emphasis. The conflict between Indian and non-Indian aspirations for the Reservation was reinforced by the "termination" issue. Most non-Indian leaders wanted the Reservation to be terminated eventually, while there was a clear lack of consensus among Indian leaders on the question of termination.

Non-Indian leaders seemed to feel they could work together more effectively if Indians were not treated as "wards" of the federal government. There was little agreement among the leadership groups as to whom should be responsible for solving Indian problems. This could arise from past and present differences in perception about government and local responsibility in public works, employment, and job training on the Indian reservation. Non-Indian leaders understood the need to cooperate with Indians in local development efforts, but were

dissatisfied with what they regarded as preferential treatment accorded Indians by the federal government.

Although Indian leaders also felt the need for cooperation between the two groups, they felt that Indians deserved the advantages accorded to them in order to gain the opportunity to achieve a level of living and income equal to area non-Indians. This difference in "life situation" (income, employment, education, housing, etc.) between Indians and non-Indians was a continual source of antagonism and conflict and an obvious obstacle to cooperative area planning.

Inter-Community Differences Between Non-Indian Leaders

Although non-Indian leaders as a group had clear advantages in directing community affairs (more financial power, more business ownership, greater annual income, etc.), there were wide variations between the five communities studied. Leaders from Culbertson, Bainville, and Froid appeared to have considerably more in common with each other than they did with leaders from Wolf Point and Poplar. However, there were also distinct differences between leader groups in Poplar and Wolf Point, particularly in their attitudes toward organizations such as the Tribal Council, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Chamber of Commerce.

Culbertson and Bainville leaders evidently had very favorable attitudes toward the Planning and Improvement Council and the Cooperative Extension Service. This could be explained in part by the location of the Extension office in Culbertson and the considerable efforts of the Council to develop industry for the Bainville and Culbertson area.

It was not entirely clear why the Poplar and Wolf Point leaders held more negative attitudes toward the Council; although some Wolf Point and Poplar leaders were active in the Council, a majority of the more powerful and able leadership from these two communities apparently were not active in 1967. Lack of leadership knowledge of the activities of the Planning and Improvement Council was evident; more than 50 percent of the leadership from all five communities were not aware of Council activities.

Wolf Point leaders seemed to rely on the Chamber of Commerce for improvement efforts, while Froid depended in large part on the County Commissioners. The high schools were rated very favorably in all communities. The Chamber of Commerce was highly rated except in Bainville. Only Poplar leaders had favorable attitudes toward the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This lack of consensus regarding which organization had been most beneficial to the area undoubtedly created obstacles to collaborative efforts.

As described previously, Indian leaders were more interested in action programs than in planning for long range benefits. It was also clear that certain segments of the non-Indian leadership from Culbertson, Bainville, Froid, Poplar, and Wolf Point were inclined to prefer immediate action rather than

planning systematically for future action.

Wolf Point leaders were not universally interested in cooperative planning with other communities; most leaders from the other four communities felt collaboration was crucial. Many Wolf Point leaders took the view that their community was able to accomplish its primary goals independently of surrounding areas.

There were distinct differences in the willingness of leaders to work on improvement projects. Leaders from Froid and Bainville were much less willing than other non-Indian leaders to commit themselves to such projects. Only a few leaders from the remaining communities were unwilling to commit themselves to community-wide development programs.

Poplar leaders had a much less optimistic conception of their present community situation than other non-Indians. However, like their Indian counterparts, they were optimistic about the future. This was less true of leaders from the other areas (particularly Froid leaders who believed their community would become **less** desirable as a place to live in the future).

It was quite evident that differences between Indian and non-Indian leadership groups were not clear cut. There were many similarities of attitude between some non-Indian leaders and some Indian leaders. In several important respects, inter-community differences **among non-Indian** leaders were **greater** than the differences between Indians and non-Indians. The continuum of leader behavior, characterized by "traditional" and "modern" leaders at the two poles (described earlier), was clearly reflected in the distinct differences between non-Indian leaders in the five study communities.

Conclusions

Several tentative conclusions may be drawn on the basis of the findings:

1. The standard notion that Indians and non-Indians have different values and points of view was substantiated. However, the differences were not necessarily on the basis of cultural "inferiority" or failure to appreciate middle-class American values. Although the Indians seemed to have a different set of priorities, they were just as interested in development as the non-Indian. They simply wanted development on their own cultural terms and in order of their priorities, **rather than** on the basis of non-Indian values or priorities.

2. The Indian leaders appeared to understand the principles and concepts of community development about as well as the non-Indians. In fact it seemed very clear that there were **significant non-Indian leadership differences between communities** in the Roosevelt County area, and the range of difference was greater among non-Indians than it was between Indians and non-Indians. This would suggest that the Indian point of view (that he is as competent and sophisticated as the non-Indian, but has not had the "tools", resources or training with which to develop himself or his community) appears to be basically

correct. Provision of those "tools" is now in process, through Office of Economic Opportunity, Economic Development Administration, Housing and Urban Development and other programs; Indians at Fort Peck now appear to be making substantial progress. This is not to say that **non-leaders** among the Indians have made the same progress or have the same kind of sophistication as the leadership group; it simply suggests that Indian leaders clearly have the potential to be effective in developing their communities.

3. The point at which the Planning and Improvement Council began to decline could be traced directly to the departure of the professional community development specialists from Roosevelt County. Local leadership was apparently not able or willing to do the kinds of detail work that it took to maintain what was for several years a highly viable organization. This reinforces the notion that professionals—with responsibility for organization, education and design of the community development process—are a critical element in the success of an organizational effort of this type. Local leaders may have had the interest and commitment, but they often did not have the time to assume all details of organization and education. It also seemed apparent that the process of learning about community development may have significantly declined after the professional community specialists departed. This implies that the **continuing** education process is critical, and it takes a professionally trained person to assume major responsibility for this role.

4. Although all leaders indicated a serious interest in collaboration with neighboring communities and counties, their efforts at collaborative involvement seemed to reach a stalemate after a very short period. Some success at collaborative efforts was evident, but locality interest seemed to predominate in the long run **unless** a continuing effort was made to reinforce the importance of broadly based collaboration.

This suggests the need for an approach that encourages local effort and local development, **as well as** the umbrella area programs. Success at the local level apparently is a necessary prerequisite to encourage and fortify the need for collaboration on a broader scale. It also seems clear that the leadership role and the professional development role are critical in the success of collaborative activity. Leaders must be widely accepted and respected on an **area basis,** and the role of the professional development specialist is crucial in this respect; he must support and encourage leaders to maintain area communication and a collaborative stance. This is obviously much more difficult in a large area than in a small community.

5. There were serious problems in communication during the history of the Planning and Improvement Council. Many prominant community leaders knew very little about the activities of the Council. Lack of knowledge could be traced partially to memory failure, but

many influential leaders may not have had an opportunity to understand and be involved in the concept of area development. Possibly a more systematic communication effort, at the public media and informal interpersonal levels, would have increased understanding and involvement; it may also have led to fewer conflicts and misunderstandings, particularly during the later years of Council activity. This suggests the need for a carefully designed communication mechanism as a part of any major development effort.

6. Although the planning process used by the Council was reasonably sophisticated, there was relatively little effort to evaluate and analyze the results of projects undertaken. If a project failed it appeared to have been judged a failure of the Planning and Improvement Council, when in fact economic and social forces may have made failure more or less unavoidable. Or failure might have been traceable to some shortcoming in the communication or organization process. This suggests that if a planning process is to be most fruitful and productive in the long run, there needs to be an analytical and evaluative dimension managed by someone who has sound training and expertise.

7. The preceding paragraph, and other conclusions drawn above, suggest also that an important dimension of community development programs may be the nature of the support provided by outside sources, such as from universities, and state and federal governments. Support provided through the Planning and Improvement Council, particularly after the professional developer left, was intermittent and not altogether dependable. A number of local feasibility studies were undertaken on which results were delayed without explanation. Requests for outside help were submitted and no response was obtained. These kinds of events were frustrating and caused local leaders to lose confidence in the official bodies supposedly available to them at the state and federal levels. The professional developer was more able than local leaders to gain commitment and action from the non-local resources.

8. Although the study contains little data on general citizen involvement, it seemed apparent that citizens of the area were heavily involved in the early stages, but where much less active and apparently much less interested in later years. This led to discouragement among the leadership, and lack of attendance at meetings where citizens were supposed to help study and implement programs. A more systematic effort at citizen involvement and participation may be necessary.

Other studies have shown that this involvement must be based on a clear effort to discover the needs and desires of citizens.[7] Individuals are not likely to participate for very long if they cannot work on projects from which they can see direct personal or community benefit. It seems apparent that in the later stages of Council activities, sufficient attention was not given to this dimension of citizen involvement.

9. Other studies of leadership have shown that certain basic characteristics of a leadership group are very important if it is to function as a unit.[8] For example, group members need to have varying tenure in the area; the group should be composed of some individuals who have lived there a long time and of others with shorter tenure, so that there is a potential for introduction of new ideas by relative newcomers. It is important that the leadership group be congenial but not cliquish. It is also essential that the leadership work through both informal and formal organizational mechanisms. It is particularly crucial that the leadership group be representative of all major organizations and interests in the area.

In the later period of the Planning and Improvement Council the leadership group did not meet some of these criteria. A clique group seems to have gained control of the leadership, and did not adequately represent all major organizations and interest groups in the area. There is no specific evidence to support this, but discussion with many individuals at the local level suggests this was the case. A consequence of failure to meet these criteria was a deterioration of activity among interest groups that were not represented, and among leaders who were influential but were not involved. It seems apparent that if a particular clique gains control, this tends to disillusion and antagonize other interest groups in the area.

The community development experience in Roosevelt County and the Fort Peck Indian Reservation is somewhat unique in Montana. Both successes and failures, in the total process and with individual projects, have helped to clarify workable principles for development programs. This report examines only a few of the important results of the effort.[9]

Footnotes

1. A Cooperative Extension report, *Teamwork = Progress*, published in 1963, describes the initiation, organization, and early successes of this program.

2. "Overall Economic Development Plan," Roosevelt County and Fort Peck Reservation Planning and Improvement Council, County Extension Office, Culbertson, Montana, 1960.

3. "Overall Economic Development Plan," Roosevelt County and Fort Peck Reservation Planning and Improvement Council, County Extension Office, Culbertson, Montana, 1966.

4. "Overall Economic Development Plan," Roosevelt County and Fort Peck Reservation Planning and Improvement Council, County Extension Office, Culbertson, Montana, 1969.

5. Steiner, Stan, *The New Indians*, Harper and Row, New York, 1968. Richard Lancaster, *Piegan*, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, 1969. Gordon MacGregor, "Community Development and Social Adaptation," *Human Organization*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Winter, 1961) p. 238. Newton Edwards, "Economic Development of the Indian Reserves," *Human Organization*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Winter, 1961) p. 197.

6. Lerner, Daniel, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1958. Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957.

7. Ross, Murry, *Community Organization*, Harper and Row, New York, 1967, p. 45. Ward Goodenough, *Cooperation in Change*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1965, Chapter 3.

8. Angell, Robert C., "The Moral Integration of American Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII, Part 2, July, 1951, pp. 108-09. William R. Lassey and Anne S. Williams, *Community Development in Montana: Resources, Methods, Case Studies*, Big Sky Books, Bozeman, Montana, 1970, Part II.

9. A more detailed and technical report of study results is contained in Leadership for Community Development: Analysis of An Indian Reservation Area, by the same authors, available upon request from the Center of Planning and Development, Montana State University, Bozeman 59715.